2: Bowers E-5 (1930-1931)1950 NQ17 Mandan NQ17

766 name were taken to the usual place, where they were placed on a scaffold or interred, according to the parents' preference.

775 The Mandan believed that there was a Baby Hill near Fort Clark, another near the Heart River, and a third near Dickinson which had interiors like an earth lodge, in which an old man cared for them. If a child died before being named, it returned to the Baby Hill. People claimed to have seen baby tracks on the tops and sides of these hills. It was believed that the spirits in the hill near the Heart River came north when the Mandan [842] came north. If a woman had been married a number of years and was childless, desiring a child, she would go to one of these hills to pray for one. Those wanting a daughter brought girl's clothing and a ball; for a son she brought a small bow and arrow. The Mandan believed in rebirth. Calf Woman's grandfather said he was one who had been reborn. One of her grandchildren had a spot on her hip, and it was thought she was one who had lived before. It was believed that children choose the mother they want and that a child resembling a sibling who had died was the reincarnation of the other child. The Mandan cite numerous instances of culture heroes who selected a mother when desiring to be born into the tribe.

553 A girl usually keeps her first name as long as she lives. If she was sick or unlucky, her parents frequently put up a feast to get a new name for her. If she had grown up, her brothers and sisters helped her prepare a renaming feast.

853 A nursing child frequently developed a sore mouth which interfered with its feeding. In such cases, the parents selected a 755 man of the child's father's clan to cure it by piercing the skin of the ceremonial father's leg and permitting the child to suck of his blood. A payment was made to the man selected by the child's clan brothers and sisters.

TRAINING

861 The child's training was both economic and ritualistic and 868 differed according to the sex of the child. A girl was trained in lodge management, household arts, gardening, curing of meat, 562 and certain ritualistic practices, receiving her instruction primarily from the women of the lodge. A boy was taught hunting and fishing and went out while still a boy to help bring meat

2: Bowers E-5 (1930-1931)1950 NQ17 Mandan NQ17

back to the village. Economic training came largely from his father and the older men of the lodge. If he were inclined to be lazy, his mother would talk to him, while her brother would shame him and accuse him of bringing disgrace to the clan.

A boy was taught to begin fasting when he was eight or nine years of age. The parents would tell him of the benefits he would receive and cite the various eminent men of the village who had attained their position from this practice. The mother's brother and his older brothers would give him goods to take into the Okipa to present to some man of his father's clan and designate the person entitled to the gift. An older brother planning to fast would bring a younger brother to the Okipa ceremony and instruct him, sending him home when he thought he had been there long enough, while the father would give him some small article from his ceremonial bundle to wear, thinking it would help to get a "vision."

A lodge "grandfather" contributed a great deal to a boy's education. He would make toy bows and arrows and teach him to use them. If he had a fish trap, his grandsons did much of the work of carrying willows to the bank for weaving into sections for the walls, and he would permit them to bail the fish out of the trap. He would teach them games, especially techniques and skills which would be useful in warfare, and tell them stories. Using rivalry between the moieties, these old men who were too old to hunt would arrange the boys ten years and younger on sides and teach them to use shields for their protection, shooting at each other with arrows on the blunt ends of which a ball of mud or wrapped hide had been attached.

Not to be discounted in the training of a young Mandan boy or girl was the informal education they received by living in intimate contact with the entire village population, observing the conduct of others, and being kept informed of contemplated group action by the village "criers" who announced each decision of the village leaders. He learned that he must treat different relatives in various ways and that they would laugh at him if he did not. Learning that he was expected to treat different relatives the same way his brothers did, he imitated his older brothers unconsciously and followed their advice.

A girl's education was essentially the same as a boy's except

2: Bowers E-5 (1930-1931)1950 NQ17 Mandan NQ17

that a different set of relatives instructed her for a different set of economic pursuits. The women of the lodge were responsible for her training. They gave her toys, related stories and traditions, and taught her to care for her younger siblings. Her mother taught her to harness the dogs and took her to the forest for firewood. Some of my informants' most tender memories were of the times when as young girls, their mothers had given them dogs with harnesses, and had taken them along in gathering brush for the fires. The mother-daughter bonds were of deep affection. When the women of the lodge dressed hides, the daughter would help, and she had her own sewing kit containing awls, sinew thread, paints, beads, and porcupine quills, and she was taught the techniques of hide dressing and decoration, giving those who helped her little presents to express her affection. As a little girl, she made crude pots when the women of the lodge were making pottery, and, when old enough, she bought her mother's rights in the techniques and designs of pottery-making.

Parents owning rights in age-grade societies encouraged their children to join an age-grade society. Those too young to belong to a society would see older ones dancing. A girl's older sisters and women of the lodge would explain the procedure of buying as a group and helped collect goods for the transfer of the society to the younger girls. Membership in a society introduced a series of new obligations. Heretofore her obligations were with the persons of her parental household. As a member of an organized female group, composed largely of persons of her own age and outside her own household, she was called on to prepare robes and other clothing for the brother or husband of a society member who was buying a ceremonial bundle or was having rites performed for the renewal of a bundle. As a member of an organized group she likewise received assistance when her own family was buying rights in a sacred bundle. Collectively she treated those in the next older group as mothers and those in the group younger than her own as daughters.

Preadolescent boys also joined an age-grade society, buying as a group from the older boys on the advice of their parents. All boys of the age eligible to buy would organize to join. Some boys were not interested; some households were temporarily broken

2: Bowers E-5 (1930-1931)1950 NQ17 Mandan NQ17

up by death or divorce; some fathers were in disrepute, having conducted an unsuccessful war expedition. An old man of a boy's lodge, one who had belonged to many societies, learning in the village that there was talk of buying the youngest society, would encourage his grandson to join and would help him accumulate the goods used for the purchase.

Joining an age-grade society for the first time as a boy, he encountered a "father-son" relationship which had heretofore applied only to his own household. He was selected by a member who was of his father's clan, and the initiate addressed him as "father" during all the proceedings preliminary to the formal purchase; he learned that the other two or three boys his ceremonial "father" had selected were likewise based on a "father-son" relationship. This "father-son" relationship, extending outside his own household, formally instituted when making his first purchase into a society, became the basis of his behavior in buying and selling societies and ceremonies for the rest of his life.

FASTING AND FIRST WAR EXPEDITIONS

Fasting during the Okipa ceremony marked the introduction of the boy to status in the tribe as a whole and was first instituted at the age of eight or nine, when the people of all the villages were assembled for this annual event. The first fasting was of short duration. The fasting periods increased until a boy reached the age of seventeen or eighteen, when he was expected to fast for the entire duration of the Okipa ceremony and to drag buffalo skulls or be suspended by means of thongs inserted under the skin. Visions were not induced each time one fasted; neither were they expected.

It was believed that one's social personality was determined by sacred beings before the birth of the individual and that fasting was a means of renewing these former instructions that were temporarily forgotten while being born and cared for in the village. It was also believed that in the universe there were many sacred people who would adopt as a "son" those who fasted frequently and made offerings to them or who gave feasts to the sacred bundles of the village. A young man was taught to consult not only his own father but all men of his father's clan on matters of a sacred character. If one's sister's son seemed neg-

6: Wied-Neuwied T-5 (1832-1834) 1843 NQ17 Mandan NQ17

ten horses, and fastens them to the hut of the young woman, who gives them to her father. The latter then takes other horses, and if he has them not himself, his relations assist him, and these horses are fastened, in return, to the hut of the intended son-in-law. In such a case an estimate is previously made of the number of horses possessed by the woman's relations, for all presents are returned in equal number. The bride next boils some maize, and daily carries a kettle or dish filled with it to the hut of the bridegroom. After some time has elapsed, the young man repairs to the hut of his bride, where he passes the night with her, and the marriage is considered as complete. The young couple often continue to reside in the hut of the father-in-law, but they more frequently build a new hut for themselves; sometimes, however, they afterwards separate. The father-in-law is, subsequently, the principal person in the hut; everything depends on him, and is done on his account, and for him; if game is killed, the flesh is first presented to him, &c. There are often many children in these Indian families; some had as many as ten; yet, on the whole, the Indians have not so many children as the Whites, doubtless because they keep them longer at the breast. They are extremely fond of them, but the children are often weak and sickly, in consequence, it is supposed, of the hard labour which the women have to perform. I was universally assured, that the new-born children are of a reddish colour. The births are, in general, extremely easy, and the mother bathes in the river immediately afterwards, even if it is frozen; in ten days the child is considered as safe, having got over the most dangerous period. A person is paid to give it the name chosen by the parents and relations. The child is held up, then turned to all sides of the heavens, in the direction of the course of the sun, and its name proclaimed. They have cradles for their infants, consisting of a leather bag, which is suspended by a strap to a cross beam in the hut. These cradles of the Mandans are not so elegant and beautifully worked as those which we saw among the Sioux and Assiniboins. The children of these Indians are subject to no kind of discipline whatever; they may do and say whatever they please, and nobody finds fault with them. Everything is done to excite a spirit of independence and self-will in the boys; if the mother speaks to one of them, he will very likely slap her face, or kick her, nay, sometimes he will do the same to his father, who says, coolly, bowing his head, this boy will one day become a famous warrior. The men sometimes treat their wives very brutally; and it has not unfrequently happened, that a woman, after such treatment, has left the hut and hanged herself on a tree. This lately happened in the case of an aged woman, whose grown-up son had ill-treated her. She was missed, and was afterwards found suspended from a tree. The women have nothing to indemnify them for their incessant and laborious work, not even good clothing, for this right of the fair sex in Europe is claimed among the Indians by the men. It is singular that these women, who are condemned constantly to work like slaves, refuse to do any work whatever if they marry a white man, and, the Whites being entirely in the power of the Indians, and the relations of their wives, they are obliged to submit to this. Sisters have great

9:Bruner E-5 (1951-1953) 1956
NQ17 Mandan NQ17

parents must consciously, deliberately, and actively train their children to become like whites (Inkeles 1955). Children in Lone Hill and probably elsewhere are prepared for a world conceived by their parents which is in part dependent upon what the parents expect their children to be. Cultural transmission is as much a projection into the future as it is a heritage from the past. This emerges most clearly from an examination of the age-grading of language learning in the village. Lone Hill is a bilingual community in that Hidatsa is spoken in daily contact and at public gatherings, while all but two of the 137 adults also speak English. In part because of a widespread belief in the village that, as one informant expressed it, " . . . it is confusing for a child to learn two languages at once," the majority of the families in this bilingual community decide between Hidatsa and English as a first language for their offspring. Their choice provides one convenient criterion for distinguishing those families who are preparing their children for a life in Lone Hill as opposed to those families who are preparing their children for a life with whites outside the village.

Table 2 shows, for each family in Lone Hill, the language spoken in the home, which is the first language learned by the children of that family.

Table 2.—Language Spoken in the Home

Degree of Acculturation	Hidatsa	Hidatsa & English	English
Unacculturated	25	1	5
Unacculturated (white model)	2	1	—
Marginal	4	1	2
Acculturated	1	1	5

In the majority of the unacculturated homes the children are taught Hidatsa as a first language and learn to speak English when they attend school. In these families, knowledge of English is one acculturative influence that does not arise from early learning in the home but is acquired from agents outside the home after the child has reached the age of seven or eight. In the five unacculturated families in which English is spoken, a Mandan-Hidatsa resident of the village has married a member of an alien tribe, so that one spouse does not understand Hidatsa. English is spoken by necessity rather than by choice. In five of the acculturated houses the parents, although they know Hidatsa, speak only English to their children. Many of these children never learn the Indian language. One acculturated family sent its eldest child to the Lone Hill day school. The boy, who spoke only English, was soon withdrawn and sent to a white school in a nearby town, after the parents discovered that their child was learning to speak Hidatsa in the village school. This story is often repeated among the acculturated families who now send their children to off-reservation schools. Language usage structures much of the life-way usage, for invariably the Indian child who comes to school with a knowledge of English is considered more intelligent by his teachers and finds it easier to interact with whites and thereby learn more white ways.

9:Bruner E-5 (1951-1953) 1956
NQ17 Mandan NQ17

It is to be emphasized that individuals in Lone Hill do not become acculturated by chance; their parents consciously and actively prepare them for a life in the white world. To be "white-oriented" is not sufficient. Almost all the adult Indian people in Lone Hill would like the approval of whites, may seek membership in white social groups, may empathize with white authority figures, may consider themselves as a "we" group with most Americans on particular issues such as opposition to communism, have adopted and understood some aspects of white culture, are able to act in white ways as a manipulatory technique in certain situations, desire American material objects, and often compare themselves with whites. After the members of the village understood the kind of information I was seeking, individuals would come and tell me themselves if they were preparing their children for a life in the Indian or the white way. One middle-aged widow came over to our home and announced, "I don't want my kids to lose their language. They speak Hidatsa and I teach them the Indian ways."

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The following conversation with Oliver Brown, a twenty-six year old veteran, and his wife, Marie, occurred toward the end of my field trip and clearly indicates that the Brown family are raising their children to emulate whites and to reject Indian ways. I knew the family well enough to take notes during the interview and reproduce them below, almost verbatim. The interview was one of a series in which I asked the parents of all the English-speaking families why they decided to teach English to their children when others in the village were taught and spoke Hidatsa. Oliver has just started in the cattle business and already has sixty-five head. Theirs is the only Indian home in Lone Hill with a bottle gas refrigerator, stove, deep freeze, and oil heater. They now have four children; a boy of three, another of two, and twin girls less than a year old. On this occasion, Oliver was watching the children, I was seated at the kitchen table, while Marie was washing the dinner dishes. I started the conversation by asking what language they had first learned at home.

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MARIE: My mother used to tell us kids about Indian ways but we learned English first, and I never picked up Hidatsa good.

OLIVER: [directing his remarks to me] When kids are brought up to speak Hidatsa they have a hard time in school. I learned Hidatsa and Mandan first, both together, and then English in school. And I had a tough time of it at Marty [an off-reservation Catholic boarding school]. I felt out of place there. My kids will be brought up to speak English, strictly English.

MARIE: But they are Indians and it's in them and they will learn Indian.

OLIVER: [in an impatient tone to his wife] I don't care if they never learn to speak Indian. The Indian language don't get them no place or anything higher. [Oliver turned to me] I want my kids to get an education and make a good living some day. They'll have to mix among the whites and go to school among the whites outside. For their own good, not for my good, I want them to mix with whites and not be among Indians.

BRUNER: After your boys finish school, do you think they might want to come back here and work in your cattle business?

9:Bruner E-5 (1951-1953) 1956
NQ17 Mandan NQ17

177 OLIVER: They could if I build it up. But they would make a better living if they get an education and get out and not stay around here.

● 861 BRUNER: Why don't you want them to be among Indians?

181 OLIVER: As long as they make a good living it doesn't make any difference if they mix with Indians or whites.

184 MARIE: As long as they mix with the right kind of people!

OLIVER: [to his wife] Education is the whole thing. If they have an education they will mix with the right kind of people, that's understood.

BRUNER: Who are the right kind of people?

OLIVER: The people that try to get somewhere, that want to make an easier living for themselves, that build up and save. Take John and Bill Fast Leg. They're good for nothing. They don't care about anything. They just live; tomorrow is just another day for them.

[At this point we had a long discussion of particular people in Lone Hill to determine exactly who the Browns considered to be the right kind of people—those with whom they would like to see their children associate. The right kind of people were the children of the group that the Browns currently associate with—acculturated people like themselves. When the unacculturated Rainbow family was mentioned, I remarked that their daughter, Flora Rainbow, had never said one word to either my wife or myself, even though we had visited her house many times and were friendly with her parents. To this Oliver made the following comment.]

OLIVER: That's because they're too backward. They don't care to associate except with their own class. Flora won't even talk to Marie! They were brought up that way; it's in their blood, I guess. They were brought up with the Indian language and never heard an English word until they were seven years old. That's what that does!

MARIE: When you visit there you don't feel welcome. I never felt at ease with them.

OLIVER: They're just backward.

MARIE: That's why we want our kids to go out and mix. If they stayed here they would be just like them.

177 The future state envisioned by the Browns, in which they see their children as accepted members of white society, may or may not become an actuality. My data indicate that the total process of acculturation, from the mixed marriage to the time individuals drift off to seek their places in white society, takes three, four, or more generations for completion (cf. Keesing 1954:90; Hallowell 1952:106). In Oliver Brown's case, his grandfather was a white man, a Civil War deserter who married an Indian woman, and his father, Jim Brown, was a successful farmer on the reservation. Oliver's sister, who no longer lives in Lone Hill, had this to say about their father:

177 861 Jim Brown pounded into us kids about working. Saving money and all that. Jim preaches today about white man's ways like get up in the morning like the white man does, and buying things that would get us ahead. He told us to try to finish school and go to college and get jobs outside. He taught us against donating, though he did it himself. But he always said it never got him anywhere. I don't believe in that donating stuff now. I guess it was just pounded into us.

That Jim Brown " . . . taught us against donating, though he did it himself," was found to be a pattern in all of the acculturated families. The parents raised

9:Bruner E-5 (1951-1953) 1956
NQ17 Mandan NQ17

their children to become like whites even though they continued to adhere to many Indian ways and values. As one informant expressed it, "Jim Brown played two parts."

It is probable that many of the unacculturated families have not remained unacculturated by choice, for in some cases they too have aspirations that they and their children may live in the white world. But the total situation in Lone Hill is such that the unacculturated families lack both sufficient understanding of white ways and realistic opportunities by which they may live successfully in middle class white society. As an illustration, selected because it is admittedly extreme, I present the case of Paul Beaver, a middle-aged unacculturated Indian who decided to move to a large city in North Dakota with his wife and eight children. He lived in a hotel where his expenses were far beyond the family's meager earnings, and they existed by borrowing money until they ran up a huge debt. The man was employed as a helper in a paint shop and one winter day he heated the paint to make it smooth. The paint exploded, burned down the shop, and caused damages estimated at $50,000. Paul Beaver was promptly fired from his job. At one time he planned to tour the country with an Indian show, but he had no agent, no conception of where to go, and no advance booking. Another time he had the idea of setting up a wood carving store in a large city. He carves only one item, small Indian heads, which he has never sold, nor did he know if there was a market in the city for Indian heads. Although Paul Beaver has made three or four attempts within the last thirty years to leave Lone Hill, he readily adjusts to life in the village when he returns. Those unacculturated families who live in Lone Hill as a second choice can do so effectively and with ease, without the inner conflict and vacillating identifications of the marginal families. Paul Beaver is an announcer at the Indian dances, an officer in one of the village societies, and he receives recognition and satisfaction in traditional Indian ways. He speaks lightly of his off-reservation experiences, and with considerable humor.

CONCLUSION

The interplay of two factors, the presence or absence of a white model through intermarriage and the conscious preparation of children by their parents for an adult life in the Indian or white world, has led to a preliminary definition of the basis of group differences in Mandan-Hidatsa acculturation.

1. Thirty-one unacculturated families attend the Indian dances, have not had a white model, and train their children to live among the people of Lone Hill village. Although their culture is mixed and continually changing, the unacculturated families have relatively clear-cut identifications with and adjustment to contemporary reservation culture.

2. Seven acculturated families do not attend the dances, have had a white model, and prepare their children for a life among whites outside the village. Members of the acculturated families have not been passive agents adjusting to forces impinging upon them. Individuals within the acculturated group are active and creative agents in the acculturation process, who change them-